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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERAKLES ON SOUTHERN ITALIAN POTTERY

by

(C) PAULINE LESLEY GREEN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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SPRING 1987

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERAKLES ON SOUTHERN ITALIAN POTTERY submitted by PAULINE LESLEY GREEN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

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Date March 25, 1987

Dedication

For Mam and Dad.

Abstract

Herakles, the glory of Hera, was one of the most important mythological figures on Attic vases and then later on the red-figured vases from southern Italy. He was the most popular hero in Greece and this popularity extended to southern Italy and Sicily where his cult was very strong. Although his labors were frequently portrayed on Attic vases, these types of scenes were not quite as popular on the vases from the western colonies. The vase-painters from Magna Graecia still portrayed various aspects of Herakles' legend, but there was a marked emphasis on the representations of his apotheosis and the events leading up to it. This thesis studies the different ways in which the apotheosis of Herakles is portrayed on southern Italian pottery between 440 and 300 B.C. The reasons why the apotheosis scenes were so popular in the west and the possible influences for the variety of representations are also analyzed. The analysis of the three main "types" of apotheosis scenes seems to indicate an apparent change in iconography on Apulian vases from 370 to 320 B.C. The Type 2 apotheosis scenes(crowning scenes) which were prevalent on both Early and Late Lucanian vases and Early Apulian vases were superceded by Type 1 apotheosis scenes(journeying to Olympus) in the period from 370 to 320 B.C. The available evidence seems to indicate that while the artistic

influences penetrated into the hinterlands of Lucania and Apulia from the south, the traditions of the works of art were closer to those of the north and west, especially in the fourth century B.C. These Hellenic influences may have reached the provinces of Lucania and Apulia not only from the Greek colonies of Taranto, Metaponto, and Heraclea by way of the river valleys, but also from the western province of Campania where the Greek and Etruscan cities of Cumae and Capua were situated. It is suggested that the iconography of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot(Type 1) may have been transmitted to Apulia through Osco-Lucanian intermediaries.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of some very special people. I would like to thank my family for their continued support, and Dr. Helena Fracchia for her invaluable help. A special thank you to my fiancé, Buzz, for his patience and understanding.

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Abbreviations

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Ant. Rom.	Roman Antiquities
BSA	British School at Athens
BSR	British School of Archaeology at Rome
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LCS	The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily
MemLinc	Memorie dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi (Accademia dei Lincei)
Opusc. Rom.	Opuscula Romana

I. Introduction

This thesis is a study of the different ways in which the apotheosis of Herakles is portrayed on southern Italian pottery between 440 and 300 B.C. The reasons why the apotheosis scenes were so popular in the west and the possible influences for the variety of representations will also be analyzed. Part of this subject matter has already been extensively covered by Paolo Mingazzini in his article "Le Rappresentazione Vascolari Del Mito Dell' Apoteosi di Herakles", where he grouped these apotheosis scenes into fourteen types dating between 550 and 350 B.C.' While his article discusses those scenes found both in Attic art and southern Italian art, this thesis will only cover those representations on pottery from Lucania and Apulia. The major sources of information for this thesis are Trendall's and Cambitoglou's extensive works concerning the red-figured vases of southern Italy.(See Bibliography)

Since this thesis is dealing with the red-figured vases of southern Italy, it is important to understand the early development of the pottery before going into any more detail about their later development. This foundation will hopefully allow for further discussion on the later influences and distributions of the vases throughout Magna Graecia.

When research began on the red-figured vases of southern Italy, the first classifications were based on the findspots of the vases.[2] It was assumed at first that these vases were made where they had been found. Later, however, ceramic production was divided into five different categories based on stylistic criteria. The five, with the first two pertinent to this thesis, are: Lucanian, Apulian, Campanian, and then later, Paestan, and Sicilian.[3] It was Adolf Furtwängler in 1893 who is credited with recognizing that these red-figured vases were of local South Italian origin and not Attic.[4] He connected the earliest of them with the founding of Thurii in 443 B.C.[5] Much has been written about the location of the original production center of these early red-figured vases and many theories have been put forth. Trendall states in his book[6] that Hauser thinks that after 433-432 B.C., Heraklea might have been the center of manufacture of these early Lucanian vases, after the treaty between Thurii and Tarentum. Heraclea was also situated near Anzi and Armento, where later Lucanian vases were produced. He uses a recent discovery at Policoro(ancient Heraclea) of a tomb containing vases associated with the Amykos Painter and his followers to support the theory that Heraclea was the center of manufacture. Macchioro, however, believes that south-Italian vase-painting began at Ruvo. Tillyard refutes this idea in his book, The Hope Vases.[7] Trendall, supporting Furtwängler, believes that the center of production was at Thurii. He

also believes that the workshop soon moved northward to Metapontum.[8] In a later article, however, Trendall states that a recent discovery at Metapontum of potter's kilns dating from the end of the fifth to the early fourth century establishes "beyond a doubt" that it was a major area for the production of Early Lucanian pottery.[9]

Furtwängler based his theories of production on certain characteristics which tended to distinguish the Italiote vases from the Athenian product. One of the most obvious differences was the color of the clay itself, which tended to show a great variety of color and texture. While it might retain the bright orange-red shade of Attic clay, for the most part, it was much paler.[10] In some cases, the clay was so pale that a reddish wash was applied to imitate the Athenian vases.[11] Moreover, the black paint very rarely kept either the luster or intensity of the Attic vases and often had a muddy or greenish color. While it was not apparent at first, there was also a difference in style which became more obvious as the individual schools developed.[12] Thus, by the end of the fifth century, it became easier to distinguish Attic vases from Italiote. It was from this group of red-figured vases dating from 440 B.C., that the later Lucanian style evolved.

In 430-420 B.C., a second style, now called Early Apulian began to evolve at Tarentum.[13] The vases of this style developed into a more monumental shape and size(volute crater) and became more elaborately decorated than the

Lucanian red-figured vases. During the initial stages of their development, however, the Early Lucanian and Early Apulian vases evolved along parallel lines; the result being many similarities in style, technique, subject matter, and shape of vases between the two schools.'[4] Around 375-370 B.C., the artists who had workshops at Metapontum and the surrounding areas, made a move into the Lucanian hinterland, which eventually brought about substantial differences between the two.'[5] By making such a move inland, the artists left behind the main stream of Greek influence, which up to that time had been fairly intense. This move allowed the vase-painters of Lucania to develop their wares in the direction which suited them, with the styles being dictated by the indigenous market. After 370 B.C., their vase-paintings, which were probably manufactured at Anzi and Armento, began to take on a more "provincial" look, both in style and shape, influenced by the localized artistic flavor from the Lucanian interior.'[6]

In Apulia, however, the vase-painters who were probably Greek kept their workshops at Tarentum, which as a result, helped in the developing divergence in technique, subject matter, and character of the work between the Apulian and Lucanian vase-paintings.'[7] This early Apulian style eventually evolved into a developed Apulian style, both "Plain" and "Ornate", styles which were characteristic of the fourth century.'[8]

At this point, for clarification, a geographical definition of what is Lucania and Apulia should be set out as both areas were ethnically a mixture of Italiote and Italic. Lucania in the fifth century B.C. was that area in south-western Italy which was bounded to the north by Campania and Samnium, and to the east by Apulia, and to the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea.(Map, Fig. 1) The area extended south from the Sele River to the north, the Bradano River to the east and the coast to the west. Lucania boasts the majority of Greek speaking colonies in southern Italy: Metapontum, Heraclea, Siris, Sybaris, and Paestum. From these colonies, Hellenic influences penetrated into this hinterland region from early times by way of the river valleys to where Oscan speakers produced "Italic" art.[19] The region close to Greece itself was especially exposed to Greek influence.[20] This was south-eastern Italy, bounded to the north by the Ofanto River, on the west by the Bradano River, and on the south and east by the sea.[21] This area consists of Apulia and the two appendages, Mons Garganus and the Promunturium Sallentinum. For the purpose of this thesis, we are mainly interested in the area south of the Mons Garganus and north of Tarentum which is situated in the Promunturium Sallentinum. Tarentum was the only Greek colony in this area but the area was also very Hellenized due to the early contacts with mainland Greece and the other colonies of Magna Graecia.[22]

The main body of this thesis is devoted to an examination and analysis of the scenes representing Herakles' apotheosis on vases from both Lucania and Apulia. These apotheosis scenes, gathered from Trendall's books, are set out in the Appendix. Chapter Two deals with an analysis of these scenes, and contains a brief description of the three main "types" of apotheosis scenes. The patterns of distribution of these three "types" of scenes are also discussed, to determine which types of iconography were predominant in what geographic areas in southern Italy.

Chapter Three is devoted, first of all, to a brief discussion on the possible reasons for the prevalence of scenes of Herakles' glorification in southern Italy from 440 to 300 B.C. This discussion is followed by a more detailed attempt to determine the possible influences for the changes in the representations of Herakles' apotheosis.

A more detailed analysis of a red-figured loutrophoros found in situ at the "La Scala" cemetery at Roccagloriosa in western Lucania in 1978 is made in Chapter Four. This vase is of particular interest due to its subject matter and place of retrieval.

Chapter Five is devoted to making an overall conclusion and further considerations about the information supplied in the previous three chapters.

Notes

1 Paolo Mingazzini, "Le Rappresentazione Vascolari del Mito dell' Apoteosi di 'Herakles", Memorie dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1 (1925): 427-490(hereafter cited as Memlinc).

2 A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase-Painting, (British Museum, 1966): 7.

3 Ibid., 7.

4 A. Furtwängler, Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik, (Berlin, 1893).

5 A. D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Vol. 1, (Oxford, 1978): 3.

6 A. D. Trendall, LCS , Vol. 1, 6.

7 E. M. W. Tillyard, The Hope Vases, (Cambridge, 1923): 12.

8 A. D. Trendall, Early South Italian Vase-Painting, (Maine, 1974): 22-23.

9 A. D. Trendall, The Art of South Italy, Margaret Ellen Mayo(ed.), (Richmond, 1982): 16.

10 A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase-Painting, 9.

11 Ibid., 9.

12 Ibid., 9.

13 Ibid., 8.

14 A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, 3.

15 Ibid., 3.

16 A. D. Trendall, LCS, 116.

17 B. MacDonald, "The Emigration of Potters from Athens in the Late Fifth Century B.C. and its Effect on the Attic Pottery Industry", AJA 85 (1981): 159.

18 A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase-Painting, 8.

19 E. T. Salmon, The Making of Roman Italy , (Ithaca, 1982): 15.

20 Ibid., 18.

21 Ibid., 18.

22 Ibid., 19.

II. Apotheosis of Herakles

A. The Representations of Herakles' Apotheosis

Herakles, the glory of Hera, was one of the most important mythological figures on Attic vases and then later on red-figured vases from southern Italy. He was the most popular hero in Greece and this popularity extended to southern Italy and Sicily where his cult was very strong. Although his twelve labors were frequently portrayed on Attic vases, these types of scenes were not as popular on the vases from southern Italy. The vase-painters from Magna Graecia still portrayed various aspects of Herakles' legend, but there was a marked emphasis on the representations of his apotheosis and the events leading up to it.[1]

Analysis of the works listed by Trendall indicates that out of 147 examples of Herakles portrayed on vases from southern Italy dating from 440-300 B.C., sixty-three represent the glorification of the hero from a mere mortal to a god.[2] (See Appendix) (These apotheosis scenes make up 43% of the total). This number is quite different in comparison to those scenes of Herakles found in Attic art. According to Beazley, out of 1565 vases studied, which portray various scenes of Herakles' legend, ninety-five portray scenes of his apotheosis.[3] These apotheosis scenes,

therefore, make up less than one percent of the total number. Thus, the evidence shows that there was a noticeable increase in the portrayal of Herakles' apotheosis on the vases from southern Italy.

Moreover, further analysis reveals that the total number of apotheosis scenes was not restricted iconographically. This was also true of the Attic apotheosis scenes. For clarity, these different representations are divided into three "types", according to their subject matter.

Since there is such a variety of apotheosis scenes, only those which pertain directly to the actual glorification of Herakles are analyzed in detail. The scenes are discussed in order of sequence. Scenes portraying Herakles' journey to Olympus, his actual glorification and the events thereafter will be discussed first. By definition, the word apotheosis, which is derived from the Greek word "apotheoein", means "the action of ranking, or fact of being ranked among the gods; transformation into a god, deification; divine status".[4] Herakles obtained his deification after successfully performing his twelve labors. Unfortunately, while the majority of the scenes chosen are excellent examples of the hero's apotheosis, a few can be interpreted in more than one way. These ambiguities arise from a lack of specific characteristics shown.[5] It is important, nonetheless, to note that the majority of these southern Italian vase-paintings, which definitely represent

Herakles' apotheosis, show the final stages of his glorification as opposed to his journey and introduction to Olympus.

This observation is clear since there are only five examples of Herakles journeying to Olympus in a chariot.[6] All of these scenes are Apulian and date from 430-320 B.C. These scenes are designated as Type 1 and are divided into three sub-groups:

a. Herakles and Athena in a quadriga.

b. Herakles and Nike in a chariot.

c. Herakles and Nike in a chariot with a pyre underneath.

There are two variations of Type 1a. In one category, Herakles and Athena are accompanied by a Nike flying in front of the quadriga.(See Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Pl. 10) In the other version, Herakles has not yet entered into the quadriga.(See Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Pl. 366.3) Two moments of the same scene are shown.[7]

The Type 1b scenes differ slightly from the previous subgroup. In both representations of this type, Herakles stands next to a Nike, who directs the chariot towards Olympus. The figures leading the chariots towards the heavens also differ. A flying Eros, who holds a phiale, some myrtle and a basin for bathing, leads one chariot, while Hermes leads the other.[8]

In the two examples of Type 1c, dating from 370 to 360 B.C., both satyrs and Danaids' are portrayed extinguishing the pyres below with water from hydriai; above, Herakles is shown about to ascend into the carriage next to a Nike in one scene, and Athena in the other. His mortal remains which are symbolized by a corselet, rest on the pyre. Thus this scene, of which there are only a few, represents both the death on the pyre and the glorification of Herakles in the chariot above.[10] Departure scenes such as those just mentioned above in Type 1 were extremely popular on Attic black-figured vases, where they had specific political significance in Athens. Peisistratus returned from his second exile with a charade based on Athena's introduction of Herakles to Olympus by chariot. But these scenes later lost popularity with the artists of Magna Graecia.[11] The scene representing Herakles' apotheosis by chariot, however, does become a popular subject in the Late Apulian Period(370-320 B.C.).

The scene portraying the Nike, the symbol of victory, crowning the hero is the most prevalent of all the scenes listed up until the Late Apulian Period.[12] This scene is designated as Type 2. These crowning scenes are fairly simple and somewhat static in nature. The figures are involved in little movement and there are few secondary figures.[13] The artists usually portray the Nike crowning Herakles with some sort of crown, fillet, band, wreath, or branch as both figures face each other.(See Trendall, The

Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Pl. 34.1)[14] The hero, in turn, who is half-draped and holding his knotty club in one hand, usually stands or sometimes sits, with his other hand outstretched to receive the gift or wreath.(See Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Pl. 140.2)

The figure of the Nike is also varied.[15] Since there are a great number of these other representations, Type 2 scenes are further divided into three smaller sub-groups according to the appearance of the Nike:

a. Nike winged, but on the ground.

b. Nike flying.

c. Nike wingless.[16]

The Type 2a scenes, numbering thirteen, show the Nike on the same level as the hero. The equality of positions of both figures indicates that the hero has fulfilled his duties, and become victorious. The Type 2b scenes, numbering five, show the Nike flying towards the immobile figure of Herakles and placing the crown on his head. In eight other cases, while the Nike stands nearby, Herakles is portrayed holding the crown in his hand or wearing it on his head. Type 2 crowning scenes, therefore, can portray both moments before and after the deification of the hero.

In some instances, the figure of victory is represented wingless as if she were a mortal woman(Type 2c).(See Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Pl. 80) It is possible, however, that the figure of the woman could represent every woman or some other mythological figure such

as Hebe. Mingazzini in his article, also wondered if this female figure could represent Hebe, but he came to the conclusion that the duty of glorifying the hero with a crown or wreath of victory belonged to the figure of the Nike and no one else.''

Other figures glorify the hero in six scenes. These figures include Hermes, Artemis, a satyr, Eros, and Athena. Two of these scenes show the goddess Athena handing over the crown of honor and success to the hero. While Athena was commonly represented crowning Herakles in Attic art, in southern Italian art she was replaced by the Nike, which neutralized somewhat the Athenian connection of the hero. By using the figure of the Nike, however, the vase-painters of southern Italy still effectively tied the figure of Herakles to the goddess Athena because "the Nike, the Greek personification of victory, was regarded more as an attribute of Athena than a separate goddess".'' Moreover, Athena was still portrayed on vases with Herakles, as his patron, but usually in scenes representing his labors.

The vase-painters of Magna Graecia also used the theme of Herakles' life in Olympus. The number of banquet scenes reveals that the inhabitants of southern Italy were interested in the idea of a happy afterlife. Representations of Herakles relaxing in Olympus comprise the next largest group. These scenes, which total nineteen, are designated as Type 3. Since the variety of vase-paintings portray the hero-god in Olympus, they are divided into four smaller

sub-groups in accordance with the activity shown and the secondary personages involved. These sub-groups are:

a. Herakles relaxing in Olympus, listening to the flute.

b. Herakles taking part in banquets in Olympus.

c. Herakles relaxing in Olympus, with the addition of a kantharos.

d. Herakles receiving a welcoming libation from a divinity.

In all these scenes, the hero is portrayed as a god in Olympus, enjoying all the good things he could not during his lifetiime.[19] In the scenes of Type 3a, Herakles is usually represented listening to a seated silen playing the flute. Again these scenes are fairly simple in portrayal, since few secondary figures are added. When they are included, the figures are usually made up of women carrying offerings to the new god, or fellow gods like Dionysus, an appropriate figure for banquet scenes such as these. The scenes of Type 3b are quite similar to the preceding type; however, here the hero enjoys banquets with his fellow gods rather than spending his time in "intellectual" leisure.[20] Herakles, who in Greek legend is famous for his gluttony,[21] is shown in one scene reclining on his lion-skin between Hermes and Athena holding a cornucopia. In this scene and others, however, the cornucopia, also known as the "horn of plenty", symbolizes fertility, an important aspect of Herakles' legend in Magna Graecia. In other scenes, the hero

may be shown seated with the cornucopia between Zeus on his left and Athena and Hermes on his right. In one scene from a vase of the Late Apulian Period, the artist included a few secondary figures: Eros, Aphrodite, Hebe?, and Pan were added along with the figure of Athena.[23]

The last two subgroups of Type 3, while very similar in character to the first two, contain similarities within themselves because of the addition of the kantharos and oinochoe in the scenes. The kantharos is a "drinking cup with two vertical handles, a deep bowl and high foot, while an oinochoe is a jug with one handle used for ladling or pouring wine".[23] While the kantharos is usually representative of Dionysus, it is also appropriate to other figures, divine or semi-divine, who have shown the right to a libation of wine.[24] In the single example of Type 3c, Herakles, holding a dish of offerings, approaches an altar next to which a Nike stands, holding a kantharos.[25] While the scene differs somewhat from those listed by Mingazzini, the addition of not only the Nike, the symbol of victory, but also the kantharos, "the symbol of happiness", place this representation in the realm of Herakles' apotheosis.[26] The kantharos, as a wine cup of Dionysus, also holds deeper meanings. It also symbolizes both rebirth and immortality.[27] Thus, since the religion of Dionysus and the belief in the afterlife are closely associated in Italy, the addition of the kantharos in a banquet scene with Herakles is quite appropriate.[28]

In Type 3d, Herakles receives a welcoming libation from different divinities such as a Nike, Athena, or Hermes.[32] In these scenes, they all use the oinochoe.(See Trendall, LCS, Pl. 30.1) Herakles, in turn, is either holding out an oinochoe in his outstretched hand to receive the drink-offering or is portrayed already holding a wreath or laurel branch. The latter reveals a feature that can be nearly applied to all these Type 3 scenes, where there are pictures available and where the picture is clear enough: the figure of Herakles has already been deified.

B. The Distribution of Scenes of Herakles' Apotheosis

At this time, it is necessary to set out the patterns of distribution of these three "types" of apotheosis scenes, in order to determine which types of iconography were predominant in what geographic areas of southern Italy.[33] The patterns of distribution of these scenes are determined by provenience, first Lucania, and then Apulia.

Lucania

In the area of Lucania, the iconography regarding Herakles' apotheosis remained fairly standard, but the areas of manufacture and actual findspots did change over a period

of time. In the early Lucanian period from 440-370 B.C., the most popular scene represented on the vases was a Nike crowning the hero Herakles(Type 2), followed by the scenes of Herakles' life in Olympus(Type 3). Only one of the Type 2 scenes has been given a specific findspot, while the remaining six cannot be placed in a proper context. This Type 2 scene, by the Creusa Painter(400-390 B.C.), now in the National Museum in Taranto, was originally found on the west coast of Apulia at Rutigliano.(Map, Fig. 2)[31] In the fifth century B.C., many of the early Lucanian vases with their sophisticated styles were found at different sites in Apulia: Ruvo, Gioia dell' Colle, Ginosa, Conservano, Rugge, Lecce, and Tarentum.[32] The one example of the Type 3a scene, by the Reggio Group(410-380 B.C.), however, was found at Pisticci, slightly inland from Metapontum and Heraclea in Lucania. Trendall states that many of the vases of the Intermediate Group, to which the Reggio Group belongs, probably came from Tarentum.[33] Thus, the artists, with their workshops presumably based on the south coast in the Greek colonies, manufactured their wares and exported them into the hinterland of Lucania and Apulia via the Basento, Agri, Bradano, and Sinni river valleys which run from the hinterland to Tarentum, Metapontum, and Heraclea.

In the Late Lucanian Period(370-310 B.C.), i.e. the "provincial" period, the Type 2 scenes still remained prevalent with the Type 3 scenes again taking second place. Even though Trendall is unable to state the findspots of

these apotheosis scenes, the most important sites where the vases of this period were found were: Armento, Anzi, Roccanova, Pomarico, Potenza, and Banzi.(Map, Fig. 3)[34] Thus, it is clear from this evidence that a definitive move from the coastal—areas under Greek influence to the hinterland of Lucania, where the sites of Anzi and Armento now became the two main centers of manufacture for these vases, seems to have taken place.[35] The artists who especially favored Herakles and his deification by a Nike--the Painter of Naples 1959(350-320 B.C.) and the Primato Painter(360-320 B.C.)--appear to have had their workshops in these areas, either at Anzi or Armento.[36]

Apulia

In Apulia, it is evident that while the iconography of Herakles' apotheosis changed chronologically, it did not change much geographically. Fortunately, more information concerning the findspots of these Apulian vases is available, which makes this quite clear. As was mentioned previously, the main center of production of the Early Apulian vases(430-370 B.C.) was Tarentum.[37] Evidence indicates that this pottery was not extensively exported out of Apulia and the proveniences of the apotheosis scenes support this fact, since the majority of Herakles' apotheosis scenes were found within the boundaries of Apulia

itself. A few vases, however, have been found in nearby Lucanian towns and areas such as Matera, Timmari, and Montescaglioso, and others in the Lucanian hinterland at Anzi, Armento, Roccanova, and Roccagloriosa.[38]

In the Early Apulian Period(430-370 B.C.), as was the case with the early Lucanian vases, the theme of Herakles' deification by a Nike was the most predominant scene represented, while scenes representing the hero relaxing and journeying to Olympus closely followed. This similarity of iconography between the Early Lucanian and Early Apulian scenes may be due to the fact that the two schools of the red-figured vase-painters, each with its own characteristics, worked in close contact with each other initially until c. 370 B.C.[39] In fact, at this time, the labels of "Early Lucanian" and "Early Apulian" were usually put under the heading of "Early South-Italian Vase-Painting".[40]

The areas of retrieval of these early Apulian representations are also similar to those of the Early Lucanian apotheosis scenes. One Type 2 scene, painted by the Ariadne Painter(400-380 B.C.), now in Ruvo, was found on a crater from Ceglie del Campo, while another similar crowning scene, now in Taranto, was found further inland at Montescaglioso in Lucania. The representations of Herakles in Olympus, both now in Taranto, were found on different types of craters retrieved from Taranto and Rutigliano. Finally, one Type 1 apotheosis scene, by the Painter of the

Birth of Dionysus(end of fifth-385 B.C.), which is now found in Brussels, was found on the east coast of Italy at Bari in Apulia.

In the Middle-Late Apulian Period(370-320 B.C.), the styles and iconographical representations of Herakles' apotheosis changed on Apulian vases. At this time, the scenes representing Herakles' journey to Olympus in a chariot became more popular and thus were represented more often on vases. These vase-paintings were then followed by the Type 2 and Type 3 scenes. One Type 1a scene, by the Wind Group(370-360 B.C.), was found at Canosa, while a Type 1b scene came from the town of Puglia. One Type 2 scene and one Type 3 scene were also discovered nearby. The scene portraying Herakles crowned by an Eros, by the Chamay Painter(340-330 B.C.), now in Berlin, was found at Ceglie del Campo and the banquet scene, by the Group of New York, now in Genoa, was retrieved at Ruvo. Finally, one Type 1c scene, by the Lycurgus Painter(370-360 B.C.), now in Milan, was also found at Ruvo.

In summation, an analysis of the three main "types" of apotheosis scenes reveals an apparent change in iconography on Apulian vases from 370-320 B.C. The Type 2 apotheosis scenes which were prevalent on both Early and Late Lucanian vases and Early Apulian vases, were superceded by the Type 1 scenes in the period from 370-320 B.C.

Notes

1 Warren G. Moon, Ancient Greek Art and Iconography , (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983): 98.

2 A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily, Vol. 1 & 2, (Oxford, 1967), (hereafter cited as LCS).

A. D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Vol. 1, (Oxford, 1978).

A. D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Vol. 2 & 3, (Oxford, 1982).

3 J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters, (Oxford, 1956).

4 B. Sykes(ed.), The Concise Oxford Dictionary, (Oxford, 1964).

5 Most of the representations listed by Trendall do not have sufficient information for a complete analysis and most lack illustrations.

6 Warren G. Moon, 98. He says that "in Greek art, such chariot scenes and Athena refer to Herakles' apotheosis".

7 Paolo Mingazzini, "Le Rappresentazione Vascolari del Mito dell' Apoteosi di Herakles", MemLinc 1 (1925): 470.

8 Ibid., 437.

9 Danaids are the forty-nine daughters of Danaus who killed their husbands on their wedding night. Their punishment was that they had to carry water in Hades in containers that had no real bottoms. Mark Morford and Robert Lenardon, Classical Mythology, 2nd ed., (Longman, Inc., 1977): 264n.

10 C. Kerényi, The Heroes of the Greeks, (London, 1959): 203. He states that "Herakles' mortal body was not burned like the corpse of a mortal, but that the hero rose from the burning pyre in a cloud to heaven, amid peals of thunder". This is taken from Apollodorus of Athens(140 B.C.): 2.7.9.

11 Warren G. Moon, 98.

12 Note from Euripedes' "Herakles", lines 426-427: "He won the glorious crown for these and other labors; and he sailed to the tearful realm of Hades--the final task of all". Morford and Lenardon, 367.

13 The figures, when included in the scenes, are usually Iolaos, Hermes, Athena, and nude youths. They are used

mainly to frame the scene, whereby making Herakles the central and most important figure.

14 Mingazzini, MemLinc, 449.

15 Ibid., 449-450.

16 Ibid.

17 Mingazzini, MemLinc, 451.

18 Sir Paul Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, (Oxford, 1980): 287.

19 Mingazzini, MemLinc, 462.

20 Ibid., 467.

21 Eva Keuls, The Water Carriers in Hades, (Amsterdam, 1974): 159.

22 Ibid. In the banquet scene, like the wedding scene, the crown or band is usually carried by the figure of Eros.

23 A. D. Trendall, The Art of South Italy Margaret Ellen Mayo(ed.), (Richmond, 1982): 309-310, and Ernst Langlotz and Max Hirmer, The Art of Magna Graecia, (London, 1965): 18,

where he says that the kantharos was also the favorite drinking vessal of Dionysus. Also note G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum", AJA 45, (1941): 363-389, and George W. Elderkin, Kantharos, (Princeton, 1942).

24 R. Ross Holloway, Art and Coinage in Early Italy, (Bellinzona, 1978): 36.

25 This vase-painting may represent an event which leads up to the hero's actual apotheosis, since he is represented bringing offerings to an altar.

26 Mingazzini, MemLinc, 473-476.

27 George W. Elderkin, 49.

28 Richter, 372.

29 In the vase-painting showing Herakles with Athena, the seated goddess is portrayed looking back at the seated hero, who holds an oinochoe. The scene is reminiscent of the frieze of seated gods on the Parthenon.

30 A. D. Trendall, LCS, 116. It must be noted, however, that since there are a lack of systematic excavations and reliable information with regards to the findspots; it is

very difficult to determine where many of these vases were made.

31 Ibid., 81-95.

32 A. D. Trendall, LCS, 7.

33 Ibid., 62.

34 Ibid., 116.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 142 & 159.

37 See Page 3, Introduction.

38 A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia Vol. 1, xlviii.

39 A. D. Trendall, LCS, 3, also The Art of South Italy, 16.

40 A. D. Trendall, LCS, 3.

III. Possible Influences

Why were these peaceful scenes of Herakles' glorification and divine repose in Olympus so readily exploited by the vase-painters of southern Italy? There must have been something important about the hero and his legend to appeal to the inhabitants of Magna Graecia for them to honor him to such an extent. When Herakles began to be honored in Italy, he assumed some specific characteristics quite different from the Greek, especially after his assimilation with the Italic divinities and Roman beliefs.[1] He acquired chthonic, fertility, protective, and commercial characteristics, and assumed military aspects as well.

Herakles' initial popularity may possibly be due to the fact that he performed his last three labors in the west, labors which related to the climax of his achievements-the conquest of death.[2] These labors include the slaying of the triple-bodied monster, Geryon; the gathering of the golden apples of the Hesperides at world's end; and the descent into Hades to steal the watchdog Ceberus.[3] In Greek legend, the kingdom of the dead is found far away to the west, where Herakles' last labors took place.[4] Herakles successfully journeyed in this direction to bring back the cattle of Geryon and the golden apples, the symbols of immortality, to Eurystheus. But the hero excelled and quickly brought the twelve labors to a climactic end, by bringing the hound of

Ceberus to Eurystheus from the underworld and then later returning him.[5] While he was down in Hades, Herakles saw the figure of Meleager. The hero offered to marry his sister Deianira, and this turn of events eventually brought about his own death and later immortality.

Bowra states in his book that Herakles "was the ideal embodiment of the Greek settler, who destroyed aboriginal monsters and gave peace to the regions which he traversed".[6] Tradition states that when Herakles returned from Spain on his way back to Greece with the cattle of Geryon, he crossed the Alps and traversed into Italy.[7] He was credited with a number of different conquests during his journey through the peninsula and with the foundation of several cities.[8] Herakles was worshipped in Rome, where he killed the fire-breathing monster Cacus, who had tried to steal his cattle and he built an altar in the cattle market, the Forum Boarium, where his cult continued throughout the entire history of Rome.[9] Moreover, Herakles was honored at Croton as founder, oikistes.[10] His cult was predominant also in the Greek colonies of Tarentum and Heraclea, where coins portraying the figure of Herakles have been found. These coins, which date to the fourth and third centuries B.C., associate the hero with each site.[11] According to Diodorus Siculus(4.20-22), Herakles continued his journey across the straits of Messina to Sicily where he handed over the land to the natives of the region, after conquering the local eponymous hero, Eryx.[12]

There was something more, however, far greater than these conquests, which set Herakles apart from all others. Herakles was the only figure, a mortal, to obtain immortality and dwell with the gods in Olympus.'[13] He was first a man, then a hero, then a god, as a result of living a life full of courage, strength, and valor.'[14] Herakles gained the divine honors of youth and immortality by distinquishing himself in his own lifetime.'[15] The toiling hero overcame all the obstacles placed before him and ended up victorious, by completing his twelve labors.'[16] The image of Herakles was an analogy of human perseverance in Greece: later, in southern Italy, he "lost some of this Greek aspect and acquired a more Italic one".'[17] This can be seen in the increase in vase-paintings portraying the hero's apotheosis as opposed to his labors which were so popular in Greek art. These apotheosis scenes appear to reflect the general interest in life after death and the importance in funerary ritual that existed in southern Italy at that time.'[18] This could explain the relative fascination with Herakles' life after apotheosis in comparison with the heroic but all too earthly labors of his mortal life.

Herakles became so popular in southern Italy that the inhabitants thought fit to relate themselves to him.'[19] The hero had attained what they also hoped to achieve by living righteous lives--immortality and the right to live in heaven in perfect happiness.'[20]

The artists kept aspects such as these in mind when they approached the representations of Herakles' apotheosis. The vase-painters portrayed the hero as "Everyman", for not only did they represent him youthful in appearance, but if not for the addition of his attribute, the club, he would have looked like any of the youths portrayed on the reverses of many of his vases.[21] This also brings us back to the type of iconography most represented by the vase-painters: the glorification of Herakles by a Nike. The figure of the Nike brings the theme of Herakles' deification even closer to the human level, since she is not really a goddess, and most especially since she is portrayed also as a mortal woman.

The next question one needs to ask is: Why was there such a difference in the iconography representing Herakles' apotheosis from 370-320 B.C. in Apulian art and not in Lucanian art?

One reason for the dissimilarities in iconography may be due to the major migration of vase-painters from the coast of southern Italy to the hinterland of Lucania c. 370 B.C.[22] Why these artists moved inland has been a subject for much discussion and as yet has not been fully determined. Around 400 B.C., the colony of Paestum(Poseidonia) was conquered by the Lucanians so that the sphere of influence of Lucania extended from Paestum in southern Campania to Reggio Calabria on the west and eastward to the Bradano River, and south to the Gulf of Taranto. This allowed

artists to establish new markets for their products in an area, which, while still pre-urban, was becoming more developed: settlement in nucleated areas was the norm. The artists were now in a position both to be influenced by Greek styles and to maintain their tastes and customs, hence producing an eclectic iconography. Another reason for this move inland may have been due to the possible competition between the two productions, Lucanian and Apulian.[23] The superior quality of the latter production may have forced the artists of Metapontum to move into the hinterland of Lucania for a less exploited market. This would explain the lack of Lucanian vases in the area of Apulia from 370-320 B.C. Nonetheless, no matter what the reason, by moving inland, the Lucanian artists lessened their direct contacts with not only Greek influence, but also with Apulian influence as well. This move inland also happened at a time when there was a great influx of immigrants to southern Italy from Greece, and when an iconographic exploitation of Herakles and the chariot in Sicilian coinage was taking place, possibly to celebrate their victory over Athens in 413 B.C.

To understand the possible reasons why the iconography changed in Apulia, one first of all has to look at the area where the majority of these Type 1 scenes were found. It was previously noted that the majority of these scenes were found in northern Apulia at Ruvo, Canosa, Bari, and the area of Puglia. If one looks at a map of the period, it would

become clear that this area of Apulia bordered the territory to the north, Samnium. Did these Samnites, who began to play a greater role in the history of southern Italy in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., act as intermediaries by influencing the change in the iconographical representations of Herakles' apotheosis from the crowning scenes to his journey to Olympus by chariot in Apulia after 370 B.C?

This question may never be answered fully, but an analysis of the important cultures of the period may clarify the origin of this change in iconography in northern Apulia. This period in history is quite complex and involves the the intermingling of Greeks, and Etruscans with the Oscan speakers in Campania, Samnium, and Lucania. This intermingling, which brought about reciprocal acculturation may have produced the catalyst for further influences abroad to Apulia. In the eighth century B.C., the Greeks were the first foreigners to settle in Campania, at Pithecoussae and Cumae, and live peacefully with the native inhabitants, the Oscans.[24] At the same time, the influence of Greek myth and iconography began to spread out and these new ideas were adopted by these native Italic cultures. The Etruscans, as well as the Oscan speaking Samnites, readily adopted the hero Herakles into their religious beliefs.[25] Salmon states that many of the Greek ideas came into central Italy from Tarentum.[26] Herakles, however, was imported from elsewhere. This is corroborated by H. Sichtermann in the Encyclopedia Dell' Arte Antica, which says that Herakles' cult came to

early Latium from Magna Graecia through Croton, Metapontum, and Paestum, and also from the north through Etruria, with all probability in an early period.[27]

Herakles, as a divinity adopted by the Italic people, owes his widespread popularity in Italy to the role he plays in Italic religion, and their beliefs in the afterlife. Like the inhabitants of southern Italy, the Etruscans, Samnites, and Latians to the north shared this interest in the afterlife which can be seen from the archeological evidence found up to this date.[28] As was mentioned previously,[29] an altar was dedicated in the Forum Boarium at Rome, and later, an important Sabellian shrine dedicated to Herakles was erected on the boundary between Nola and Abella.[30] The Samnites, militant by nature, also exploited Herakles' martial aspect as well as his "fecundating" power, especially at Agnone.[31]

The Etruscans, from the seventh century onwards, greatly honored Herakles.[32] Since they placed so much importance in the afterlife, the concept of Herakles' apotheosis was quite appealing to them.[33] In fact, many Attic vases, with the representations of the hero, were found fairly well preserved in many of the tombs in Etruscan cemeteries. The Etruscans, however, tended to look upon the idea of the afterlife in a slightly different light than the inhabitants of southern Italy. The inhabitants of Lucania and Apulia used Herakles iconographically and religiously because he represented various aspects of their belief in

immortality.[34] The Etruscans, however, exploited only certain aspects of the hero's legend. They tended to look upon death as a journey, and because of this, they showed an intense interest in chariots, a vehicle which played a major part in Herakles' apotheosis in Attic art.[35] Evidence shows that of all the vases found in Etruscan cemeteries, twenty-eight or more of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot were found at Vulci, and about thirteen from other Etruscan and Italic sites. The influence of this type of iconography is evident from the many examples of chariots found in Etruscan tombs such as the tomb at Monteleone in Perugia, dating c. 550-520 B.C.[36]

Around 400 B.C., this concept of the symbolic voyage became an important aspect throughout southern Italy. In Paestum, in the last half of the fourth century, many tombs portrayed scenes of chariots as well as the popular banquet scenes. Moreover, bridles and spurs were found in the tombs to aid in the celestial journey at the "La Scala" cemetery at Roccagloriosa, south-east of Paestum, dating to the same period.[37] This concept of the chariot and the journey into the afterlife is a very important aspect especially since Capua, situated north of these two sites, was founded by the Etruscans. This exploitation of the chariot motif and the idea of the journey also extended into Apulia as well.

Apotheosis by chariot was common also on Etruscan vases from Falerii(Civitacastellana), south-east of Vulci.(Map, Fig. 4) Falerii was considered an Etruscan city, although

the Faliscans spoke a Latin dialect.[38] Faliscan vase-painting began about 400 B.C., about the time when ties with both Attic pottery and Greek Italy were quite extensive.[39] In fact, Brian MacDonald in his article, says that a new school of vase-painting forms by Attic painters who immigrated was established at Falerii, around 400 B.C.[40] The scenes of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot, a popular scene on Attic red-figured vases, became a popular motif on these Faliscan vases. Beazley lists two of these vases, labelled Villa Giulia 1607 and 1609, which were found at the hilltop site of Falerii.[41] The scenes, which show an artistic flavor other than Greek, represent Herakles' death on a pyre below and his apotheosis by chariot above(Type 1c).[42]

While Otto J. Brendel in his book, Etruscan Art(1978), reiterates that Faliscan vase-painting was strongly influenced by Greek art, especially Attic, he goes on to say that this was probably achieved through Apulian intermediaries.[43] He makes this statement with reference to the scene of Aurora and Kephalos on a Faliscan red-figured volute-crater, c. 375-350 B.C. by the Aurora Painter, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome.[44] The scene represents Kephalos and Aurora in a chariot pulled by four horses. In front, the chariot is led by a winged morning star. In an attempt to show that the route is skyward, the artist portrays the chariot in such a way that we see the bottom of the vehicle from below. This attempt at perspective also occured in

Apulian art in the naiskoi scenes, which reveals that Apulian influence is definitely evident on these Faliscan vases. Brendel also states that the Nazzano Painter appears to have been similarly influenced.[40] The Nazzano Painter was named after the site, north of Rome, where one of his calyx-craters was found,[41] and like the Aurora Painter, he was Greek-trained.[42] If these Faliscan vases were influenced by Apulian intermediaries, we have found an important connection among Etruria, Campania, Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia. The problem lies in how and where this exchange took place.

The range of Etruscan influence, like Greek influence, was far-reaching. Not only did the Etruscans readily adopt Greek myths, but they also in turn greatly influenced other cultures as well.[43] Since Capua was definitely Etruscan, the Etruscans bordered the territory of Samnium on two sides. From an early date, objects from Picenum and Apulia[44] and then later from the Italiote centers in Magna Graecia and Etruscan centers in Campania were found in Samnitic necropolises.[45] The Samnites were very receptive to these influences. The figure of Herakles was popular with the Samnites who were also strong believers in the afterlife, and the hero remained so throughout their history.[51] The majority of bronze <u>idoletti</u>, found in the cities of Campochiaro and Venafro in south-western Samnium, represented Herakles.[52] A typical aspect of "Italic" votive deposits is an emphasis on Herakles. The meridional or

southern types of votive deposits usually includes only female divinities and terracotta offerings, whose characteristics are more Greek, while the votive deposits from the hinterland of Lucania, such as from Rossano di Vaglio and Roccagloriosa include many Italic aspects as well as Italiote.

Around 400 B.C., the assimilation of Greek influences became more readily visible in Samnitic art.[53] This is due to the fact that by the end of the fifth century B.C., almost the entire western coast from Cumae to Paestum, as well as the interior of Campania was controlled by the Samnites.[54] These conquests included Capua in 438 B.C.[55] which was founded by the Etruscans and Cumae in 421 B.C., which was founded by the Greeks.[56] In this Osco-Sabellian area, namely Abruzzi, Molise, Campania, Lucania, and Calabria, votive bronzes of Herakles have been found.[57] These bronze statues of the hero were found at Laterza, Miglionico, Montescaglioso, Pietrapertosa, Armento (where a sanctuary of Herakles was situated), and Marsico Nuovo. As mentioned earlier, these idoletti of Herakles were found in the tombs of south-western Samnium. Thus it appears that this south-western expansion was greatly responsible for the spread of these bronze idoletti.

Given the historical background, could the iconography of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot have been transmitted to Apulia through Osco-Lucanian intermediaries? Archeological evidence does show that the Osco-Sabellian peoples had

contact with the area of Apulia in prehistoric times.[58] The inhabitants of this area seem to have spoken an Oscan dialect.[59] Evidence also shows that the Samnites were influenced by both Greek and Etruscan art. Apulia, however, from its geographical position seems to be more accessible from the east and, therefore, less receptive to influences from the west. Moreover, when the Osco-Sabellian tribes from central Italy expanded, they did so southwards and westwards into Lucania and Campania. As a result, in fact, Lucania in the fourth century is culturally orientated towards the west given that Paestum and Laos were not balanced by similar important establishments on the eastern coast of Apulia.

How then can we account for the apotheosis scenes represented on the Faliscan vases which reveal the same type of iconography found on the later Apulian vases (370-320 B.C.), two of which include the pyre below? Brendel and Beazley both state that Apulian influences can be seen in many of the Faliscan vase-paintings which date from 400 B.C. onwards. This period of time appears to be an early date for any Apulian influence to arrive in the west, because it became quite intense only at the end of the fourth century B.C.[60] Nonetheless, it appears that Apulian artists, working in this fairly isolated area without a central core, found an appeal in this type of iconography and thus adopted it.

While the actual scenes of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot, with or without the pyre, are not found in Lucania, archeological evidence reveals that heroic cremation burials

were performed in their cemeteries alongside inhumation burials, and some of them included horse bits and a spur.[41] In fact, these scenes with the pyre[42] found in Apulia appear to be contemporary with the large cremation pyres which were found in different areas of Lucania in the fourth century.[43] One important site in western Lucania, where these cremation burials are found, is Roccagloriosa. This site was situated in an area where it was susceptible to both the influences from a strongly Hellenized coast to the west, and its own traditional background to the north and east.

Notes

1 Encyclopedia Dell' Arte Antica, (Rome, 1960): 388.

2 Michael Grant, Myths of the Greeks and Romans, (Michael Grant, 1962): 138, also Mark Morford and Robert Lenardon Classical Mythology, 2nd ed., (Longman, Inc., 1977): 35-36. It must be noted, however, that both Orpheus and Dionysus were also extremely popular mythological figures in southern Italy as well.

3 Warren G. Moon, Ancient Greek Art and Iconography, (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983): 98. "Of all Herakles' labors, the capture of Ceberus, with the hero's nekuia, most clearly prefigures his eventual apotheosis; the triumph over death". also Michael Grant, 238, also G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum", AJA 45, (1941): 372. "That achievement of immortality was an essential part of the Herakles myth is shown not only by his apotheosis and his reception into Olympus, but by such adventures as the bringing up of Ceberus, the stealing of the cattle of Geryon, the fetching of the apples of the Hesperides, and the clubbing of Geras, Old Age". (See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellen ii: 23f) and Morford and Lenardon, 35-36.

4 Morford and Lenardon, 362.

5 Eurystheus was the taskmaster of Herakles as he commanded the twelve labors.

6 C. M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, 2nd Edition, (Oxford, 1961): 89.

7 Morford and Lenardon, 363.

8 Ibid., 363, also Dionysus of Halicarnassus stated that "it would be difficult to find any part of Italy in which Herakles was not honored". Ant. Rom. 1.40.6, in C. M. Bowra, 89. also Aristotle said that "there were memorials to him in several parts of Italy along the roads that the hero had traversed into Italy".

9 This story is told in the Aeneid of Vergil, Book VIII, 11. 102-168. also Carl G. Galinsky, The Herakles Theme, (Oxford, 1972): 126.

10 B. V. Head, Historia Nummorum, ed. 2, (Oxford, 1911): 100, for more information about the legendary foundation of Croton by Herakles, see T. J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks, (Oxford, 1948): 27.

11 Lewis Richard Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, (Oxford, 1921): 132.

12 Eric Sjöquist, "Herakles in Sicily", Opusc. Rom. (1962): 117-123.

13 Ganymede, a Trojan boy of striking beauty, also had the distinction of dwelling with the Gods in Olympus. He attained this honor, however, by means of his beauty and not by overcoming major obstacles like Herakles.

14 G. Carl Galinsky, 5. For more about this and Herakles' cult, see Farnell, 92-145.

15 Jane Henlie, Greek Myths-A Vase-Painters Notebook, (Indiana, 1973): 21.

16 Mrs. Arthur Strong, Apotheosis and Afterlife, (New York, 1969): 201. "The myths of Herakles, whose labors and wanderings are frequently represented, has thus come to symbolize the trials and victories of the soul".

17 E. T. Salmon, Samnium and the Samnites, (Cambridge, 1967): 173. See also Note 1, supra.

18 This topic of life after death is a very difficult and complex concept and would make a good topic for another thesis. Nonetheless, there is a general acceptance of the precepts involved, and a general summary of the problem can

be found in Margaret Ellen Mayo, Art of Southern Italy, (Richmond, 1982), especially pages 23-26. For a more specific treatment of the subject, see G. Zuntz, Persephone, (Oxford, 1971): 277ff. also "Orfismo in Magna Graecia", Convegno Di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 14, (1974).

19 W. Moon, 109 and G. Carl Galinsky, 5, "The toiling Herakles, whose good deeds finally ensure his divinity, was not regarded merely as an external bringer of aid, but served as a positive example of human aspirations that called for emulation".

20 Farnell, 174: "The apotheosis of Herakles afforded some hope to later individuals touching the destiny of their own souls; but this hope, such as it was, derived not from any ritual but from the tradition of his life and works". also G. Carl Galinsky, 56: "The dynamic ideal which corresponds to one of man's deepest longings: immortality". also Martin P. Nilsson, The History of Greek Religion, (Oxford, 1925): 210 says that "what we call the hope of immortality is rather the desire for a better existance after this, and the idea filled an important place in the religious life of the time".

21 Jane Henlie, 21, also W. Moon, 109.

22 See Introduction, p. 4.

23 A. D. Trendall, LCS, 62.

24 John Reich, Italy Before Rome, (Oxford, 1979): 102.

25 E. T. Salmon, 170.

26 Ibid., 170.

27 Encyclopedia Dell' Arte Antica, 388.

28 E. T. Salmon, 170.

29 Chapter 3, p. 29.

30 E. T. Salmon, 171.

31 Ibid., 171.

32 Contact obviously had been made in an early period between the Etruscans and the Greeks.

33 W. Moon, 106.

34 There are cult spots dedicated to Herakles both in Lucania and Apulia. Unfortunately, while many sources state that cult spots do exist, thus revealing the extensive

popularity of the hero, they fail to say anything more substantial than this.

35 W. Moon, 106.

36 M. Gualtieri: personal communication. The chariots found in the early orientalizing tombs such as the Regolini-Galassi tomb (650-640 B.C.) probably are more symbolic of heroic rank and of warfare rather than representing aspects of the afterlife and the underworld. But G. A. Mansuelli, Etruria and Early Rome, (Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1933): 227, says that, The Felsinae Stelae, which were funerary stelae from modern Bologna, dated from 510 B.C., but their production peaked from the first half of the fourth century, represented the journey into the underworld by chariot, funeral games, and farewell scenes. Thus, they give us more examples of death as a journey. Later, war scenes begin to appear.

37 M. Gualtieri: personal communication. The horse-bits probably represent horsemanship rather than the chariot, especially since spurs are used for riding horses and not chariots.

38 J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase-Painting, (Oxford, 1947): 6.

39 Ibid., 6 and Mansuelli, 227, and Otto Brendel, Etruscan

Art, (The Estate of Otto J. Brendel, 1978): 26. "Red-figure painting flourished (c. 400-300 B.C.). In the course of the century, this industry moved from the southern coastal cities where it probably started further inland and north; first to the Faliscan territory and to Orvieto, later to Chiusi, and finally to Volterra".

40 Brian MacDonald, "The Emigration of Potters from Athens in the Later Fifth Century B. C. and its Effect on the Attic Pottery Industry", AJA 85 (1981): 159.

41 J. D. Beazley, 103.

42 Ibid., 102-103. Beazley discusses five other similar apotheosis scenes; however, despite his assertion that the pelike (Munich 2360) and the bell-crater from S. Agoti Di' Goti are Attic, they have a definite southern Italian flavor.

43 Otto J. Brendel, 344-347, with regards to Faliscan painting, he states that "concepts and composition are clearly Greek, ultimately Attic, though probably transmitted through Apulian intermediaries".

44 Ibid., 344-345.

45 Ibid., 346, He states that "The Nazzano Painter likewise

seems to have had contact with Apulian ateliers and access to Greek exemplars". Also Beazley, 80-96.

46 J. D. Beazley, 7.

47 Otto J. Brendel, 344.

48 G. A. Mansuelli, 19, Etruria was one of the biggest markets for Attic pottery, also Etruscan influences extended to the north to Perugia and Western Umbria, 31.

49 G. Devoto, Gli Antichi Italici 2, 196, "Some of the objects were probably brought back by shepherds who had accompanied the flocks on their annual migration to Apulia".

50 E. T. Salmon, 126, n. 6. These imports consisted of Etrusco-Campanian vases, bucchero and bronze vessels probably of Greek manufacture.

51 Ibid., 170-171.

52 Soprintendenza Archeologia del Molise, Sannio Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I Sec. A. C., (1980, Rome): 360.

53 E. T. Salmon, 126.

54 John Reich, 102.

55 E. T. Salmon, 38-39, he gives the date of 423 B.C. for the fall of Capua. also Martin Frederickson, Campania, 137. Livy also places the date in 423 B.C.

56 John Reich, 102.

57 "Il Museo Nazionale Ridola di Matera", (Sop. Arch. della Basilicata), 1976, 117.

58 See Note 46, supra.

59 E. T. Salmon, The Making of Roman Italy, (Ithaca, 1982): 20.

60 A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase-Painting, (London, 1966): 12.

61 Maurizio Gualtieri, "Cremation Among the Lucanians", AJA 86, (1982): 475-481. See also Note 36, supra.

62 These scenes representing Herakles' apotheosis by chariot were by no means the only ones with the addition of the pyre. The addition of the pyre also extends to other myths as well. See M. Gualtieri, AJA, 477-478.

63 Ibid., 478.

IV. Tomb 19 at Roccagloriosa

The majority of the vases portraying the scenes of Herakles' apotheosis from southern Italy were primarily funerary in function.[1] Nearly 60% of the scenes were portrayed on craters of different types(volute, bell, column, and calyx).[2] Trendall says that vases of such sizes were popular to the artists of southern Italy, since they allowed for much larger representations of buildings and funerary monuments and basically "stood in" for the real monument.[3] Vases such as these, which on the whole are fairly well preserved, offer invaluable information to the archeologist regarding all aspects of daily life.[4] The scenes depicted on the red-figure vases give us information regarding the way of thinking, the funerary customs, the religious practices and myths of both the Greek colonists and the indigenous peoples of southern Italy, which in turn gives us a more complete picture of their civilization.[5] We are fortunate to have one example of such a vase found *in situ* from a site in western Lucania. The vase from the necropolis at Roccagloriosa portrays a scene of Herakles' life after apotheosis. An analysis of both the subject matter on the obverse and reverse sides of the vase and the actual place of retrieval may shed some further light on the religious customs and beliefs of the peoples of southern Italy.

The hilltop site of Roccagloriosa is located approximately thirty miles south-east of Paestum in western Lucania.(Map, Fig. 2) It is located in the hinterland of the Gulf of Policastro and holds a commanding position over the valley of the Bussento River.[4] This entire region has been the subject of investigation in recent years by the Department of Antiquities of Salerno in an attempt to understand more clearly the relationship between the indigenous tribes of the interior and the Greek colonies on the coast, a relationship which up to this time had been fairly unclear.[5] In the early 1970's, the Department began their research by exploring the hinterland of the Greek colony of Velia, which was founded by the Phoceans in c. 535 B.C. In the course of their explorations inland, the fortified site of Roccagloriosa was examined.

The first area of the site to be excavated was the necropolis, the "La Scala" cemetery.(Fig. 5) Most of the evidence about ancient cultures is usually derived from these cemetery areas of these sites and Roccagloriosa is no exception. The cemetery was discovered in 1977, approximately 100 meters outside the southern end of the fortification wall. This wall which existed on the western part of the site, dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C. During the summers of 1977 and 1978, the east area of the cemetery was excavated.[6] The excavations revealed that three types of burials were carried out within the necropolis itself: fossa, chamber tomb, and cremation

burials. The central part of the cemetery contained the largest number of burials, all of the fossa type. At the southern end of the cemetery, in an area separated from the central plateau by a limestone wall, there were chamber tombs, fossa, and cremation burials.[9] At the opposite end of the "La Scala" cemetery to the north, an area also cut off from the central flat area by a small enclosure wall, contained all three types of burials.

The one tomb under consideration in this chapter, namely Tomb 19, was situated in this segregated area at the northern end of the cemetery.(Fig. 6) It was excavated during the second season of excavations and has been faithfully reconstructed for us to see today.[10] This chamber tomb, one of six tombs situated in that area, was the last one situated at the north-east end of the enclosure. It was situated next to Tomb 24, which was another inhumation burial, and Tomb 25, a cremation burial. Tomb 19 is square in nature and measures 3.00 by 2.40 meters.[11] A doorway was built into the eastern end of the southern wall; therefore, it opened up onto the rest of the cemetery area to the south. In front of the doorway was constructed a short dromos, which was cut off by the limestone enclosure wall. The entire tomb itself was constructed of large limestone blocks, which were square in shape and reached a height of 1.60 meters. The roof was constructed in such a way to form a gable. By allowing the limestone blocks to rest together at an angle, they formed a peaked roof.

The body, whose gender is still undetermined,[12] was found in the center of the tomb with the votive-offerings distributed along the lengths of the east and west sides of the burial chamber.[13] These grave goods, made up of different vases and bronze horse-bits, help date this chamber tomb to the fourth century B.C.[14]

One of these votive-offerings, namely #43, is of great importance to this thesis. The red-figured loutrophoros was found in fragmentary condition just inside the doorway of the tomb, next to the west wall.[15] A loutrophoros is a tall vase with a slender body, a tall, narrow neck, and a flaring mouth. The handles are often shaped in the form of elaborate scrolls.[16] This type of vase was usually used to carry water, especially for the nuptial bath, and was also used as a tomb offering for unmarried persons.[17] The main importance of this vase lies in the scenes portrayed on the obverse and reverse sides of the vessal.

The main obverse design on the vase appears to represent the marriage of Herakles and Hebe, an event which took place soon after the hero arrived on Mt. Olympus.(Fig. 7) The scene depicts Herakles, his labors over at last, in the presence of Zeus. Zeus, the central figure in the scene, is seated on a <u>diphros</u>.[18] He is portrayed wearing an elaborate outfit and holding a sceptre in his left hand.[19] Damage to the vase itself has destroyed the top of the sceptre.[20] The body of Zeus is turned towards a female figure standing directly behind his chair. This figure

probably represents Hebe, looking very demure, who was chosen to marry Herakles. The identity of the figure seems even more clear, especially since Zeus, her father holds up his right hand in a gesture of blessing (perhaps for her impending marriage with the hero). Even though the rest of the vase is severely damaged, there appears to be a figure standing right behind Hebe, since there remains visible part of a foot and a bit of drapery.[21] This figure probably represents Hera, who was the mother of Hebe, the goddess of youth.[22] Herakles stands directly to Zeus's left. The identity of this figure appears to be quite certain, even though his head is missing. His outfit gives him away, since only Herakles wore the famous skin of the Nemean lion.[23] The figure to Herakles' left, again mostly obliterated, probably represents his nephew Iolaos, the son of his brother Iphicles.[24] A dog stands at the feet of the two figures and what appears to be the legs and buttocks of a flying Eros are found directly behind the figure of Iolaos.[25]

Helena Fracchia states in her article that the scene, as we have it, is fairly ambiguous and can possibly be interpreted in more than one way.[26] The three possible interpretations are: Creon handing over Megara to Herakles; Herakles returning to Admetus with Alcestis; or the marriage of Herakles and Hebe. Of all three possibilities, the most plausible choice is the marriage of Herakles and Hebe. As yet, there have been no examples found of the first two interpretations on red-figured vases in southern Italy,

while the scene of Herakles and Hebe is represented quite frequently in art and many of these scenes are listed by Mingazzini in his article on Herakles' apotheosis.[29] One example of Herakles' marrying Hebe is listed by Trendall, dating to the Early Apulian Period(430-370 B.C.).[30] Moreover, a red-figured vase, situated in the Museum at Paestum, portrays a marriage scene very similar to the one found on the vase in Tomb 19 in 1978.[31] Finally, the scene is more appropriate to a funerary context than the other two representations.

The scene represents the end of Hera's emnity with Herakles which had existed since the time of his birth. In an act of reconciliation, she handed over her daughter to the hero to marry. Pindar in his Isthmian Ode, 4.61-67 writes:[32]

> "To Olympus went Alcmena's son when he had explored every land and the cliff-girt levels of the foaming sea, to tame the straits for sea-farers. Now beside Zeus he enjoys a perfect happiness; he is loved and honored by the immortals; Hebe is his wife, and he is lord of a golden palace, the husband of Hera's daughter".

All of this was the result of Herakles leading a virtuous life which included the completion of his twelve labors. He obtained through his apotheosis both immortality and eternal youth, two themes particularly appropriate on a vase whose purpose is to accompany the deceased on their journey to the next world.[33]

The scene portrayed on the reverse of this vase also supports this idea that the subject matter was designed

primarily for the use in tombs. The central scene of the reverse design (or what we have of it)[32] portrays a naiskos or small building, in which stands what appears to be a female figure. A naiskos is a "temple-like structure with two columns at the front that actually resemble the facade of the richer chamber tombs in Apulia".[33] Outside of this monument stands a nude male figure, probably a mourner, who holds out an offering to the female figure within the shrine. Unfortunately, the bad state of preservation of the vase does not allow the identification of the other figures surrounding the naiskos. It does appear, however, that other figures were portrayed on different levels outside the structure. The representation of the naiskos itself, which is portrayed very simply, dominates a large part of the scene, being quite massive. The fragment of the pottery portraying the architrave of this small building is also missing but the rest of the monument is fairly well preserved. The architrave appears to be held up by two columns which rest directly on the high base. These scenes which depict offerings made at the naiskos, where the figures of the deceased were placed, are the more common funerary scenes portrayed on vases.[34] These naiskos scenes are commonly found on both Lucanian and Campanian vases. This usually only occurs c. 330 B.C., when Apulian influences became quite intense.[35]

The scene depicting Herakles' marriage to Hebe, the goddess of youth, and the rest of the apotheosis scenes

discussed earlier, indicate that the inhabitants of southern Italy tended to identify the dead with a mythological figure.[36] In fact, the south Italian artists were ingenious in exploiting Greek myths to represent different important themes. Herakles and his legend were one of the more popular choices for the artists, since the various scenes of his apotheosis reflected the ideas of the afterlife and funerary ritual which existed in southern Italy at that time. The hero's apotheosis is especially pertinent to these two themes, since he was originally born a mortal to Zeus and Alcmena. As a mortal, he had the task of performing superhuman deeds, some of which were variations upon this "conquest of death" theme.[37] As a mortal, he successfully completed all of the labors and returned to Olympus before the assembly of the Gods, in triumph: his own life reproducing the life of toil that all mankind shared.

All of the apotheosis scenes, especially the wedding scene, express this "triumph over death" theme. First of all, by marrying Hebe, Herakles was in essence marrying eternal youth. Moreover, the small figure of Eros flying to the right of the wedding scene, as the giver of life, also represents a victory over death.[38] Many bridal scenes such as this one, which include figures such as Aphrodite(the goddess of love) and/or Eros, have been found in graves.[39] Although the function of this vase is primarily funerary, the scene in its entirety reflects the hope for a happy afterlife. There is really no evidence of any sorrow or

lament over the loss of a loved one.[40] If this is the case, the small chamber tomb, acts not as a tomb but as a simple dwelling where the deceased may live on in the afterlife. This helps explain the addition of votive-offerings such as this vase in the tomb.

The actual positioning of this red-figured loutrophoros in this chamber tomb may also possibly reflect this theme of a happy afterlife. This vase, which was an appropriate choice for the portrayal of a wedding scene, was found next to the western wall of the tomb just inside the doorway. Was the placement deliberate or offhand? Or was it coincidental that the vase with this type of scene was placed against the wall which faces the direction of Elysium(The Isles of the Blest)? While in Greek mythology the actual spot was unknown, Elysium was the place where heroes and those favored by the gods enjoyed a happy death after life.[41] There may be absolutely no connection between the positioning of the vase in the tomb and the concept of an afterlife in Elysium, but the desire for a long and happy afterlife is evident in the inclusion of vases portraying scenes of Herakles' apotheosis as opposed to the earthly labors of his mortal life.

Further finds at Roccagloriosa may indicate that this desire for a long and happy afterlife may have existed in life as well as after death. Excavations which took place in the summers of 1985 and 1986 may have possibly brought forth evidence connecting Tomb 19 to one of the dwellings situated

on the central plateau. A room, domestic in nature, was found containing a knotted, bronze club possibly belonging to a statue of Herakles and a terracotta disc for hanging which portrayed the scene of Herakles strangling the snakes. Other finds indicate that this might have been a possible votive area. These finds include numerous skyphoi handles, paterae, and miniature coarseware vases, both common in monumental votive-deposits at Roccagloriosa and elsewhere in Lucania.

Notes

1 A. D. Trendall, The Art of Southern Italy, Margaret Ellen Mayo(ed.), (Richmond, 1982): 19.

2 Unfortunately, the shapes of all the examples were not revealed.

3 A. D. Trendall, The Art of Southern Italy, 18.

4 Ibid., 15.

5 Ernst Langlotz and Max Hirmer, The Art of Magna Graecia, (London, 1965): 30.

6 For more information about the site, M. Gualtieri, "Roccagloriosa: Relazione Preliminare della Campagna di Scavo 1976-1977", in NSc, XXII, 1978, 383-421, (hereafter cited as NSc). also, M. Gualtieri, "Roccagloriosa: Excavation of the Site of a Greek Colony in Southern Italy", Expedition 22 (Spring, 1980): 34.(hereafter cited as Expedition).

7 M. Gualtieri, Expedition, 34-35.

8 M. Gualtieri, NSc 34, 103.

9 M. Gualtieri, "Cremation Among the Lucanians", AJA 86 (1982): 475, (hereafter cited as AJA).

10 M. Gualtieri, NSc 34, 103-109.

11 Ibid., 108.

12 Gualtieri: personal communication. The body could be male due to the retrieval of horse-bits in the tomb. Mario Torelli hypothesizes that the body could be female with the horse-bits being used for a chariot.

13 M. Gualtieri, NSc 34: 108.

14 Ibid., 109.

15 This vase was previously published in an article by Helena Fracchia, "Two Mythological Scenes from Western Lucania", Crossroads of the Mediterranean, Archeologia Transatlantica 6, (1981): 291-300. (hereafter cited as Crossroads).

16 A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase Painting, (British Museum, 1976), Fig. 2.

17 Ibid., Fig. 2.

18 See G. M. A. Richter, Ancient Furniture, (Oxford, 1926): 30-43, also G. M. A. Richter, A Handbook of Greek Art, (London, 1959): 370-372. While the thronos was the kind of chair usually used by the gods, the diphros, a type of simpler chair was also employed by the gods. For example, gods are represented sitting on diphroi on the Parthenon frieze.

19 For more information, Arthur Bernard Cook, Zeus: A Study In Ancient Religion, (Cambridge, 1914).

20 Other scenes representing Herakles' introduction to Olympus show a seated Zeus clasping the sceptre in his left hand. One is a bell-crater from Gela, now at Palermo which shows Zeus seated on a magnificent throne and Herakles being encouraged by Athena to draw near, (Cook, F666) and also on a bell-crater from Falerii in the Villa Giulia at Rome attributed to the Talos Painter, (F668). The vase is dated to the period of the Peloponnesian War. It shows Herakles in the presence of Zeus, holding the sceptre, Athena, Hebe, Hera, and Hermes. The scene is reminiscent of the one found at Roccagloriosa dated to the fourth century B.C. Ibid., 735-737.

21 H. Fracchia, Crossroads, 299.

22 In the examples listed by Mingazzini, Hera and Hebe are

portrayed standing together by the side of Zeus. P. Mingazzini, "Le Rappresentazione Vascolari del Mito dell' Apoteosi di Herakles", MemLinc 1 (1925): 443.

23 The first labor of Herakles was to kill the Nemean lion.

24 Iolaos was frequently shown in Greek art with Herakles performing his twelve labors. There is no indication, such as the addition of a petasos or talaria on the fragments that this figure might represent Hermes, the messenger of the gods.

25 See Note 19, Chapter 2, also Margot Schmidt, The Art of South Italy, Margaret Ellen Mayo(ed.): 31.

26 H. Fracchia, Crossroads, 299.

27 P. Mingazzini, MemLinc, 442-446.

28 Unfortunately, there is no figure for this particular painting.

29 Luciano Pennino(ed.), Paestum e Velia, (Salerno, 1985): 103.

30 Mark Morford and Robert Lenardon, Classical Mythology, 371.

31 H. Fracchia, Crossroads, 299.

32 Gualtieri: personal communication. At the time of retrieval, some of the pieces from different vases were mixed together and have yet to be divided into proper groups.

33 Margot Schmidt, The Art of South Italy, 24.

34 A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase-Painting, (London, 1966): 12.

35 A. D. Trendall, The Art of South Italy, 19, and J. C. Carter, "Relief Sculptures from the Necropolis of Taranto", AJA 34 (1970): 120-137.

36 Eva Keuls in her book, The Water Carriers in Hades, (Amsterdam, 1974): 86, says that "The keynote to Italiote funerary symbolism which we will find again on Roman grave monuments, is the identification of the deceased with a mythological figure".

37 See p.28, Chapter 3.

38 Margot Schmidt, The Art of South Italy, 31.

39 Ibid., 23.

40 Ibid., 25.

41 Oxford Classical Dictionary, (Oxford, 1970): 19.

V. Conclusion

The representations of Herakles' apotheosis from Lucania and Apulia have been examined in a broad context and one representation from the site of Roccagloriosa in a more specific context. In light of this study, several conclusions can be brought forth from these analyses.

The study of the representations of Herakles' apotheosis on southern Italian pottery reveals many aspects of the indigenous cultures of southern Italy from 400-320 B.C. As Uhlenbrock states,

> "Religion, myth, and art were closely allied in classical culture in an attempt to give tangible expression to the forces of nature that dominated daily existance".[1]

The information retrieved for us through archeological means is especially important to us since no written evidence describing the different aspects of daily life has been left behind.

The study of Herakles' apotheosis scenes indicates the extent of the relationship which existed between the native inhabitants and the Italiote Greeks, and also possibly the relationsip between the ancient provinces of Apulia, Lucania, Campania, Samnium, and Etruria. We have already seen in Chapters 1 and 2 that not only were the Italic peoples influenced by Greek art, thus initially producing vases with Greek artistic traits, but they were also influenced by Greek mythology as well. The peoples of

southern Italy adopted the mythological figure of Herakles, along with many others, but while the hero acquired various chthonic, fertility, and protective characteristics, his image and legend remained essentially Greek.[2] In archaic Athens(560-520 B.C.), for example, Peisistratus utilized the motif of Herakles' apotheosis for his own political purposes and gain, adopting the hero as his own divine protector, but in Magna Graecia, this motif was exploited mainly for religious purposes.[3]

The number of these apotheosis scenes in both Lucanian and Apulian art, as noted in Chapter 3, Note 17, indicates a general interest in life after death at this time. This is clear especially since artists tended to reproduce those religious scenes which were important or had some meaning to the native peoples. The fact that all of these vases portraying these apotheosis scenes were found in funerary contexts supports this theory of an interest in the afterlife.

This interest in the afterlife can be clearly seen especially with reference to Tomb 19, where the red-figured loutrophoros portraying an apotheosis scene was found in a specific context. As discussed in Chapter Four, a vase portraying Herakles' marriage to Hebe was found <u>in situ</u> in Tomb 19 in the "La Scala" cemetery. This evidence has been important in supporting the theory concerning the importance in the belief in the afterlife in southern Italy and has also given tangible evidence for Apulian influence in

western Italy in the late fourth century. The vase from Tomb 19, which is in fragmentary condition, represents aspects very similar to the other apotheosis scenes of the period, even though the actual scene represented is different from the three "types" discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The addition of such iconographical devices in the various scenes as the wreath, cornucopia, and kantharos, and figures such as a Nike, an Eros and Hebe, all reinforce the intent of portraying Herakles in different aspects of his apotheosis. The artists, in this way, were very clever at making each scene contain elements of eternal youth, fertility, victory, immortality, and ultimately happiness, all which Herakles acquired after his death.

The vases representing these apotheosis scenes, therefore, were deliberate additions to the tombs. The representations with Herakles expressed exactly what the inhabitants of southern Italy believed in for themselves in the afterlife. As Eva Keuls states in her book,

> "The keynote to Italiote funerary symbolism which we will find again on Roman grave monuments, is the identification of the deceased with a mythological figure".

The red-figured loutrophoros representing Herakles' marriage to Hebe also allows us to analyze it in relation to the site of Roccagloriosa itself. There is a possibility that Tomb 19 and its' contents may be associated with a particular dwelling situated on the central plateau. Votive-offerings with the representations of Herakles' legend have also been found in this domestic context. If

this connection were correct, which cannot be proven, it would provide some insight into private cultic activity occurring at Roccagloriosa. The presence of the votive-offerings such as a disc representing Herakles strangling the snakes and the bronze, knotted club which belonged to a statuette of the god, viewed with the other evidence mentioned at the end of Chapter Four, indicates that Herakles was honored both before and after death at Lucanian sites as well as Samnitic ones. It is interesting to note that two of the finds in the dwelling, namely the plaque and the knotted club, portray aspects of the hero's legend, which included overcoming enormous obstacles when he was alive, and the representations in the tombs for the most part, portray different scenes of his apotheosis after his death on Mt. Oita.

Excavations at the site of Roccagloriosa have already disclosed the presence of a central courtyard, on which was situated the F1.1 deposit, made up of a small shrine or temple within which was found various architectural terrracottas. Elsewhere in southern Italy, other sanctuaries to Herakles exist at Taranto in Apulia,[5] Armento and Heraclea in central and southern Lucania,[6] and an important Sabellian shrine to Herakles, was found situated on the boundary between Nola and Abella,[7] just north-east of Naples. Moreover, bronze <u>idoletti</u> representing Herakles were a major part of cultic deposits found in public contexts at the sites of Campochiaro and Venafro in south-western

Samnium and in northern Apulia right down to the south at such sites as Laterza, Montescaglioso, and Armento.

It is becoming clearer that Hellenic influences reached the provinces of Lucania and Apulia not only from the Greek colonies of Taranto, Metaponto, and Heraclea by way of the river valleys, but also from the western province of Campania where the Greek and Etruscan cities of Cumae and Capua were situated. It was mentioned in Chapter Three that from the eighth century onwards, the intermingling of various cultures took place in the province of Campania. This intermingling involved the Greeks and Etruscans with the Oscan-speaking peoples in Campania, Samnium and Lucania. The Etruscans and the Samnites were receptive to these Hellenic influences because they readily utilized Herakles and his legend in their art. Many examples of chariots, which were a major component of Herakles' apotheosis in Attic art, were found in Etruscan tombs dating to the sixth century. Around 400 B.C., this symbol of the chariot became an important iconographical device in tombs throughout southern Italy from Paestum to Apulia. This scene of apotheosis by chariot also became a common scene on Etruscan vases from Falerii in Etruria. The abundance of these scenes on Faliscan vases are accounted for by the fact that around 400 B.C. an Attic vase-painting school was established at Falerii. One important point about these Faliscan vases is that while Brendel asserts that the vase-painting was influenced by Attic art, it was through Apulian

intermediaries. If this is the case, whereby further information is needed for it to be verified, the connection between Apulia and the north-west has been made. This connection is supported by further evidence which points to Hellenic influences in antefixes dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. from the north-west to as far as Apulia.[1] Etrusco-Campanian influences have been found in an antefix found in northern Apulia at Arpi. Even earlier than this during the early Iron Age, Osco-Sabellian peoples had access to the northern territory of Apulia through their practices of transhumance.[2] Was this possible direct contact with the Etruscans and western Greeks the catalyst which brought about the change in Herakles' iconography in Apulia or did Samnitic intermediaries bring this Etrusco-Campanian influence to the area of Apulia? While such questions at this point are difficult to answer, the available evidence seems to indicate that while the artistic influences penetrated into the hinterlands of Lucania and Apulia from the south, the traditions of the works of art were closer to those of the north and west, especially in the fourth century B.C. This can be seen in the presence of bronze idoletti representing Herakles is southern Italy, which appear to have come from the north, i.e. Samnium, in the increase in cremation burials alongside inhumation burials at such sites as Roccagloriosa and possibly in the use of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot as the dominant type of scene in northern Apulia after 370 B.C.

Notes

1 Jaimee Uhlenbrock, Herakles, (Bard College 1986): 7.

2 Ibid., 14.

3 Ibid., 12.

4 Eva Keuls, The Water Carriers in Hades, (Amsterdam, 1974): 86.

5 L. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, (Oxford, 1921): 133.

6 Hemtraut Dilthey, "Sorgenti acque luoghi sacri in Basilicata", Attivita Archaeologia in Basilicata 1964-1977, (1980 Proprieta, Vendita e Distribuzione): 546, also L. R. Farnell, 133.

7 See Note 28, Chapter 4, also for more details concerning this shrine, see E. Pulgram, in the American Journal of Philology, LXXXI, (1960).

8 Charmaine Gorrie, a fellow graduate student, discusses this point in her thesis called, "A Study of Gorgoneion Antefixes from Lucania", which is unpublished.

9 See Note 46, Chapter 2.

Fig 1. Map of Southern Italy

Fig 2. Map of Southern Italy (440-370 B.C.)

Fig 3. . Map of Southern Italy (370-320 B.C.)

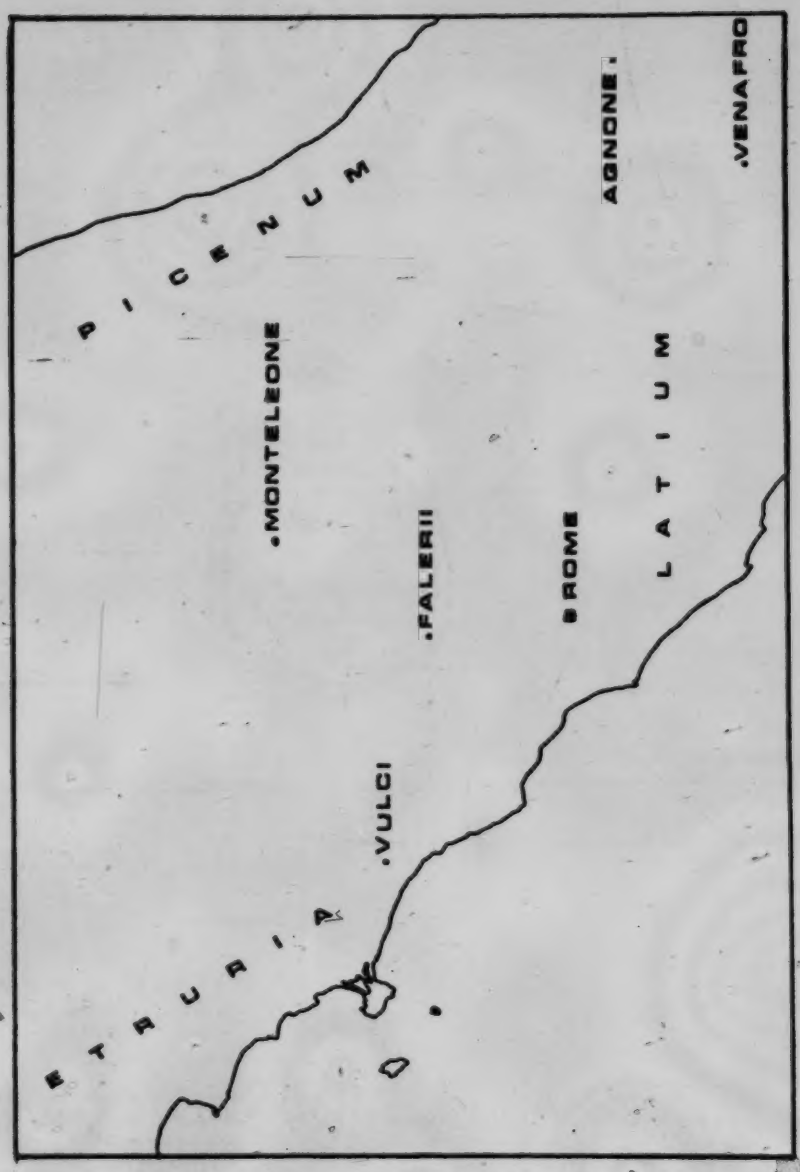

Fig 4. Map of Central Italy

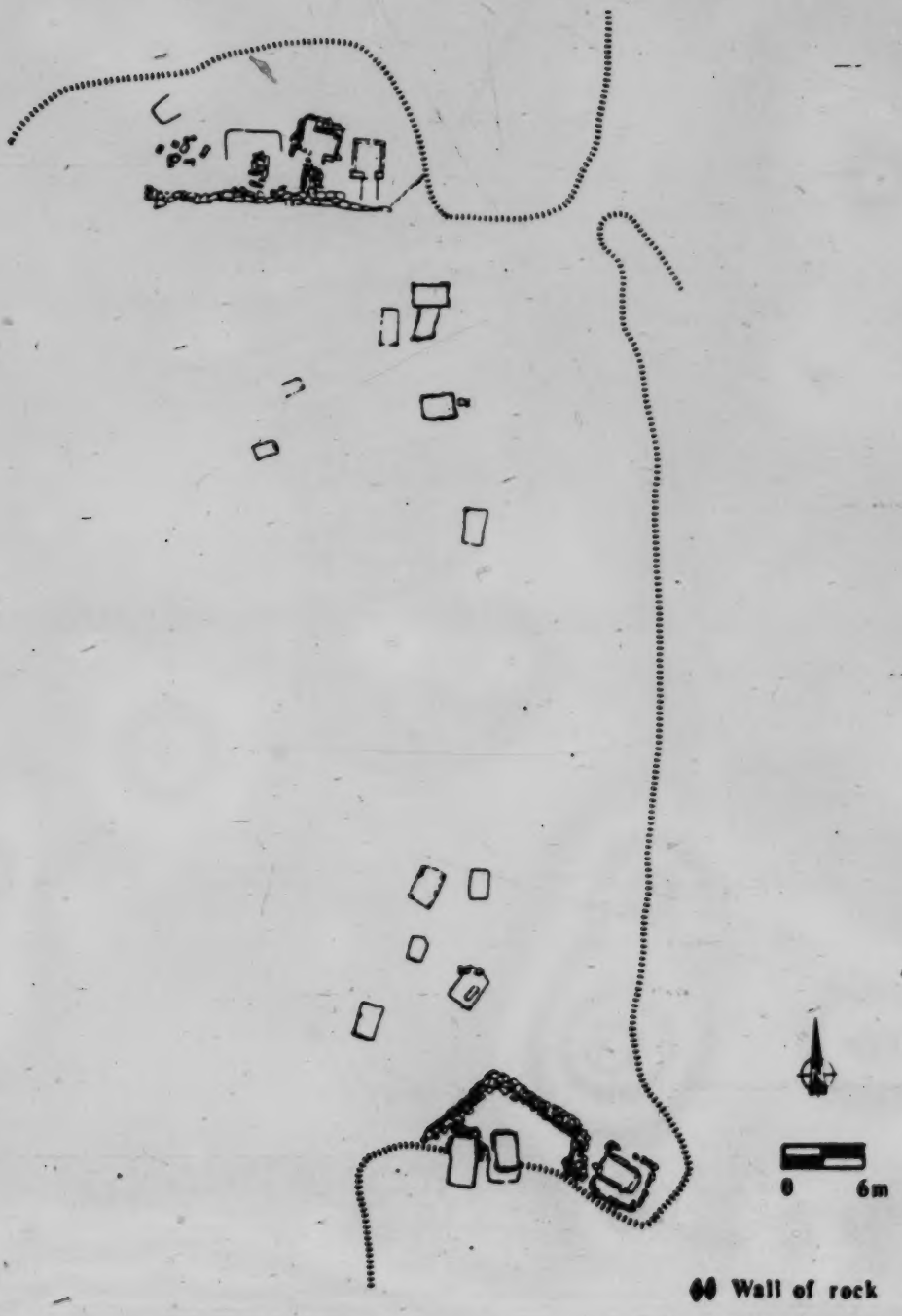

Fig 5. Map of "La Scala" Cemetery
Reproduced with permission from M. Gualtieri, NSc 34 (1980).

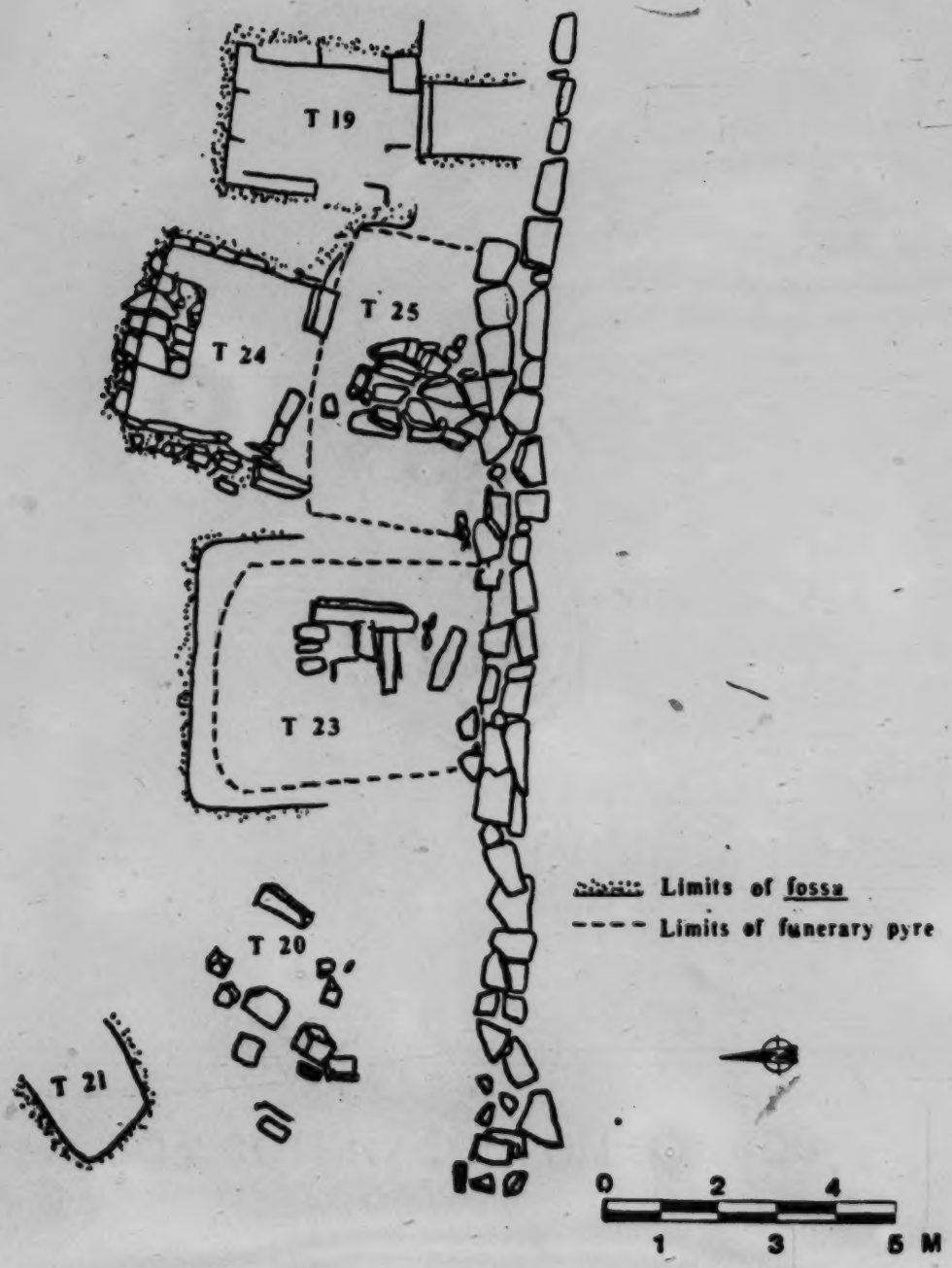

Fig 6. Northern Area of Cemetery
Reproduced with permission from M. Gualtieri, NSc 34 (1980).

Fig 7. Roccagloriosa, Tomb 19, fragmentary red figured loutrophoros Reproduced with permission from H. Fracchia, Crossroads of the Mediterranean, Archeologia Transatlantica 6 (1981).

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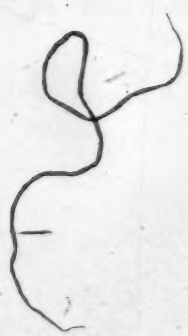

VI. Appendix

The Apotheosis of Herakles

Early Lucanian(440-370 B.C.)

a. Herakles crowned by a Nike - 7
b. Herakles, Hermes and Athena - 4
c. Herakles holding an oinochoe - 1
d. A reclining Herakles crowned by a satyr - 1
e. Herakles and a silen playing the flute - 1

Early Apulian(430-370 B.C.)

a. Herakles crowned by a Nike - 7
b. Herakles, Hermes and Athena - 3
c. Herakles and Hermes - 2
d. Herakles and Athena - 1
e. Herakles crowned by Athena - 1
f. Apotheosis of Herakles - 1
g. Herakles, Apollo and Hermes - 1
h. Herakles and Artemis - 1
i. Herakles, Nike and Iolaos - 1
j. Marriage of Herakles and Hebe - 1*
k. Herakles with cornucopia - 1
l. Herakles, Hermes and Nike - 1

Later Lucanian(370-310 B.C.)

a. Herakles and Nike - 8
b. Herakles, Hermes, Athena and flying Nike - 1
c. Herakles, Apollo and Athena - 1
d. Hermes crowning Herakles with figure of Athena - 1
e. Herakles and silen playing the flute - 1

Middle-Late Apulian(370-320 B.C.)

a. Apotheosis of Herakles - 4
b. Herakles crowned by a Nike - 2
c. Herakles and assembly of gods - 1
d. Herakles crowned by an Eros - 1
e. Herakles, Athena and Nike - 1
f. Herakles and Athena - 2
g. Herakles with Nike holding kantharos - 1
h. Infant suckling Hera - 1
i. Herakles and oinochoe - 1

* This scene will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.